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of the workers themselves. Again, the direct action campaign of the unskilled is postponed until after each of the other classes has had its day. Why the unskilled would be content to wait until that day, why their tactics would not be effective today, are not made adequately clear.

Given this trend of development, the need or possibility of a stronger socialist movement is not clear. The reforms of the next period, according to Mr. Walling, are to be carried out by progressive and other small capitalist parties, in their own enlightened interest. Given, further, the adoption of these sweeping progressive reforms, the abolition of poverty in the absolute and degrading sense, is it certain that there will be as much revolutionary zeal for further changes as Mr. Walling assumes? Will discontent survive and increase simply because, while the income of the poorer classes has tremendously advanced, the income of the richer classes has advanced still further? If the discontent does grow it is not the organized socialist party but the direct action of the unions that will give it expression, apparently. While adopting the syndicalist proposals as to the method by which the revolution is to be brought about, Mr. Walling does not look to having the society of the future organized along syndicalist lines; socialism is to differ from state socialism only in the universal equality of opportunity.

Most of these issues, however, can be decided only by the future. Mr. Walling has tempted fate by attempting to forecast development for a generation ahead, but whatever the future may have to say about his prophecies, students of economic and social affairs will be grateful for his fearless, acute, and suggestive analysis of the shifting and confused present.

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Die soziale Katholizismus in Deutschland bis zum Tode Kettlers.

By DR. ALBERT FRANZ. Apologetische Tagesfragen Heft 15.
(M. Gladbach: Volksvereins-Verlag. 1914. Pp. 257. 3 M.)

Of the three chapters in this book the first gives an account of the sources and beginning of the social reform movement in German Catholicism; the second tells of the early Christian social organizations in Germany; and the third reviews the social theories and activities of the warlike Bishop of Mainz, Freiherr von Ketteler.

The author traces the origin and inspiration of the movement to

France, especially to the writings of Chateaubriand, De Maistre, De Lamennais, St. Simon, Bonald, Lacordaire, Villeneuve, Alletz, and Buchez, many of which were translated into German and had a marked influence on social and religious thought during the former half of the nineteenth century. The French thinkers are said to have been essentially theoretical, laying great stress upon economic principles, while the Germans gave more attention to ethics and practical reform; yet the author states that Buchez was the founder of the modern coöperative movement in France, and, though himself a deist, was the forerunner of the Catholic and social reform movement of which the German protagonists were Buss, Kolping, Moufang and Ketteler. This tracing of ideas to their sources is most interesting, but not altogether conclusive, especially as no account is taken of industrial causes, and little is said of Christian socialism as a reaction against the extreme views of thoroughgoing socialists and an attempt to stem the tide of materialism.

Believing that without Christianity no solution of social questions is possible, and wishing to keep the social reform movement under the direction of the church, Kolping, Ketteler, and their associates founded a number of organizations, including associations of merchants, master craftsmen and journeymen, Christian peasants' associations, people's banks and credit associations, numbering 420 unions in the year 1865, with a membership of 60,000. However, the moderate success of these efforts showed that the church alone could not carry the burden, and caused more stress to be laid upon the need for labor legislation by the state, while the church gave attention chiefly to charity and the training of the people in religion and morals.

The social theories of Ketteler are a modern adaptation of the teachings of the church fathers, especially Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. He recognized four basic principles of social organization—the doctrine of human freedom, the eternal destiny of man, the right to property, and the sanctity of marriage and the family. Ketteler had little sympathy with the socialism of Marx, although he admired Lassalle and heartily agreed with his criticism of *laissez faire* and the Manchester school. Ketteler was not a great discoverer and creator of social reforms, but rather a herald and interpreter of modern demands from the religious point of view. In these respects he did important pioneer work. First, he drew a clean line of demarcation between Christian ideas of social

reform and the materialistic doctrine of class war taught by socialists. Second, he insisted that material, moral, and religious progress must go hand in hand. Third, he gave the first authoritative statement of Catholic social policy and laid foundations upon which his successors have securely built.

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